

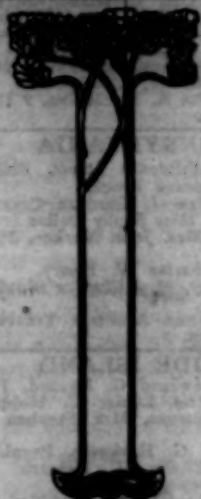
The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

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No. 3



SUFFRAGISTS REVIVE A FALLACY

WOMAN'S "EMANCIPATION"—
FROM WHAT?

THE SUFFRAGIST PEACE PARTY
FIASCO

SOCIALISM—SUFFRAGISM—
FEMINISM

HOW SUFFRAGE WOULD WEAKEN
THE STATE

WEAKNESS OF SUFFRAGE IN
SOUTH

INACCURATE SUFFRAGE
STATISTICS

HOW SUFFRAGE SPLIT
FEDERATION

JULY
1915



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AVOIDING FACTS, SUFFRAGISTS REVIVE FALLACY

BY MISS FLORENCE R. HALL

SO little attention is paid to the suffrage agitation that few persons know that the votes-for-women organization itself has recently furnished the most unanswerable reason why women should not vote—because it would be a disadvantage to the State.

To understand this properly, a little history must be considered. Forty-five years ago all Suffragists believed firmly that women had a right to vote. They thought that the Federal Amendment which introduced the word "male" and prescribed the status of American citizenship—in which women were included, of course—gave them the right to the ballot.

Interesting trials were begun to test the proposition before the courts. The Supreme Court of the United States decided against them three times. Susan B. Anthony, former president of the National Suffrage Association, in defiance of the New York State law, cast a vote in a Congressional election in 1872. She was tried, convicted and fined \$100. She was defended by the ablest legal talent procurable, yet her counsel, Judge Selden, admitted that legally she had no right to vote, but that she had voted under the impression that she had such a right, and as a result of legal advice that she should thus test the question.

After these various decisions, legal discussions of the basis of suffrage threshed the matter out for years, until, in 1894, Senator Elihu Root, in an able address before the New York Constitutional Convention, said: "If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be any one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone."

With bad grace, it is true, but none the less authoritatively, the Suffragists accepted this decision that they had no natural right to vote. In 1914, their blue campaign manual explicitly stated that suffrage was "not a natural right" and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, one of their leaders, in contributing an article to a cyclopedia, led it with these words:

"The most general statement concerning the basis of suffrage is thus put in the American and English Encyclopedia of Law:

"The right of suffrage is not a natural right * * * it may be regulated, modified or withdrawn by the authority which conferred it * * * a privilege which may be granted or denied by the people or by the department of government to which they have delegated power in the matter, as general policy may require."

The Cyclopedia of American Government, in which Miss Breckinridge's article appeared, says in answer to the question, what is the basis of suffrage? that "in the progress of civilization the counting of heads has displaced the breaking of heads as a mode of determining in whose control government shall be placed and the determination of whose heads shall be counted is the determination as to the basis of suffrage. That the suffrage cannot be a natural right is obvious from the fact that no community can ever enfranchise all its citizens. There is no political unit in which at least two-fifths of its citizens are not denied a voice in determining matters of government for the reason that they are minors. This exclusion is on the ground that their participation in government would be for the disadvantage of the State."

For the last few years, about everyone who has studied the subject has agreed with the Supreme Court decisions, Senator

Root and the quotations from the law cyclopedias above given—that, as further stated therein: "facts make it evident that the suffrage is a privilege, the extension of which to any excluded class is a question of political expediency—a question of probable effects of the proposed change for the good or ill of the State."

When Miss Breckinridge wrote, and when the 1914 suffrage manual was published, the "natural right to vote" had been dead among Suffragists for years. But in 1914 the Antis were more active than ever. They conclusively demonstrated that woman suffrage was a disadvantage to the State, as well as to women. At Harvard, Yale and Princeton they won debates by comparing the actual results in States with and without the feminine franchise. Then Colorado, the "model" suffrage State, became the most conspicuous example of failure in State government, and the Antis were aided by the conditions there. Also, the diamond that Dr. Anna Howard Shaw wears for polygamous, Mormon Utah, a suffrage State for 19 years, had never shed its luster very far for the "cause," and a Mormon Ex-Senator began to create quite a lot of comment by accusing the "apostles" of still practicing polygamy. Law comparisons, tax comparisons, divorce, home marriage and industrial comparisons were printed until the Suffragists were sick of trying to defend the "cause" as expedient. Consequently, the word went out to go back to Susan B. Anthony's "rights" arguments, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw herself led off with a rather frank statement in a signed article:

"I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reasons they ought to want it, have no bearing on our question."

A little later Dr. Shaw said at Atlantic City that she believed women had an "inalienable right" to vote, and later on signed an article that appeared in a special suffrage edition containing her faith as follows: "I believe in woman suffrage, whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right, or whether all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

Then, to cap the climax, the most notable editorial for suffrage in Pennsylvania—written or inspired by the leading Suffragist writer, came out frankly for suffrage as a "natural right" and advanced the argument that it might not do much harm! Since then, the Suffragists have harped on the old "natural right to vote" just as though it had never been decided by anyone forty-five years ago, and abandoned as an argument by their own writers. Could any more sweeping confession of failure be made than this? After woman suffrage has been tried out forty-five years in Wyoming, twenty-three in Colorado, nineteen in Utah and Idaho, as well as lesser periods in a few other States, the Suffragists themselves are ashamed to stand on their record—and have attempted to introduce again in 1915 all the old quibbles that were disposed of before most of our present voters were born!

If any man's political party tried to "put over" such an evident attempt to fool the people, their opponents would have them discredited in a week—but the Suffragists are enabled to spread much of this fallacious humbug they have stolen from the grave of Susan B. Anthony, because few people realize how they have recently "flopped" back to the academic arguments of the '60's because they have never made good in the States where women vote.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

CIVIL WAR AMONG THE SUFFRAGISTS

THE Chicago news dispatches of June 8th reveal some very interesting inside facts about the extreme lack of harmony among the Suffragists.

We quote the press as follows:

"Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and her organization were made the subject of a violent attack at the midyear conference of the National Woman Suffrage Association to-day, and a resolution was adopted declaring that the conference disclaims all responsibility for her attempt to see the President when he was in New York recently. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the national president, took the floor to talk on the subject, and many delegates insisted that the incident had dealt the cause a hard blow.

"The most important thing now is that we come out absolutely against militancy," said Dr. Shaw. "The two women who were employed by Mrs. Belmont to make this outrageous attack on the President were English militants. Their methods are most distasteful and have done suffrage much harm.

"I have had to relate in every speech I have made since the New York episode that Suffragists as a whole were opposed to the militant methods. The effrontery of those two persons to sneak into a hotel, past the secret service men who guarded the President and to jeer at him as he passed through the hall is absolutely unparalleled. We want the whole country to understand that we deplore the episode."

"Yes," said Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, "in New York City the tenement women even followed me down the stairs in many instances and shook their fists in my face, saying 'Women that will heckle the President when he has so much to bear ain't got the right to vote.'"

"The bitter fight of the National Association and the Congressional Union, the militant organization, was resumed at the sessions to-day when a movement was launched to oust members of the union who are now in positions of power in the association. The fight finally took the form of resolutions in-

troduced by Miss Emily Newell Blair, of Missouri, and the conference was stirred for several minutes, but the excitement subsided when the resolutions had been defeated.

"By a vote of 56 to 22 the conference decided that the work on the Shafroth-Palmer amendment should continue. This is a triumph for the Congressional Committee, whose members concentrated their efforts on putting through a bill in the last Congress which would put up to the States the question of suffrage."

Mrs. Medill McCormick reviewed the activities of the Congressional Committee. She is quoted as saying:

"The argument which defeated our amendment was the State's rights argument. Yet compare it with the vote on the prohibition amendment, three weeks before, and we find that seventy-two men who voted against us voted for the prohibition amendment which is a pronounced restriction of the so-called sovereign rights of the States.

"They voted for the prohibition amendment because their States or districts made organized demands that they do so."

This seems to indicate that there is a very noticeable lack of demand from their constituents for Woman Suffrage.

That their campaign against representatives who voted against suffrage has failed is indicated in the following quotation from the press report.

"Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio introduced a resolution which put the conference on record against militant methods. It was in part as follows:

"It is the sense of this conference that the policy of opposing the Democratic Party because of the non-passage of the Federal suffrage amendment is ineffectual in the suffrage States, and redounds with deadly effect in the non-suffrage States.

"The resolution was adopted unanimously."

Nevertheless, we find in the same day this statement in the press.

"The blacklist as a means of converting Representatives to the suffrage cause was defended by Mrs. McCormick."

All in all, the suffrage convention in Chicago is evidence of the inability of the Suffragists to agree upon a uniform policy—a sure sign of a weakened organization. Disintegration seems to have set in with a vengeance. Suffragist leaders are encouraging their cohorts with expressions such as "of course we will win this fall," and admitting privately, "there is no possibility of success at this year's election, but we must encourage the workers with optimistic statements."

As a result of this break and the dubious outlook for success at the polls this fall, it is expected that there will be two active suffrage lobbies in Washington this winter.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's organization, the Congressional Union, will be harassing Congress on the Mondell-Bristow amendment while Mrs. Medill McCormick, of the Congressional Committee of the National Suffrage Association, will push the Shafroth, or Susan B. Anthony, Bill.

Facing a Congress having world problems on its shoulders, these rival bands of Suffragists are not likely to be very cordially welcomed.

A similar condition of internal strife has broken out in Connecticut, where a group of thirty-five women who did not approve of the extreme methods of the State Suffrage Organization have resigned and organized a competing group, placing themselves under the banner of the so-called "militants," the Congressional Union.

When doctors disagree, who shall decide? We believe the men will decide at the polls.

WOMAN'S "EMANCIPATION"—FROM WHAT?

By MRS. SIMBON H. GUILFORD

IF the Anti-Suffragists served no other purpose in the world but to tear the fangs of feminism from the specious serpent of suffrage that is tempting the women of our nation to eat the apple of political discord, that work alone would be worth while.

Many times the writer has thought that some of the Antis have been rather severe in criticising Suffragists for feminism, but recent events show not only that all is justified, but that a great deal might be mentioned that is not even fit to print.

It was bad enough when the National American Woman Suffrage Association circulated the "Bondwoman," a pamphlet containing the following terrible doctrine: "The freewoman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be." It was worse when the Socialist editor of the "Masses," the most revolutionary magazine in this country, was put on suffrage platforms and his paper awarded a big advertising contract by the Suffragists. Countless quotations have been made from Suffragists since 1837, which establish beyond all argument their enmity to the family, the home and Christian marriage, and are not worth repeating here, but it remained for feminism in official assembly at one of its largest conventions, to reveal absolutely the sort of thing for which it is fighting.

The recent Chicago convention of the Suffragists was held mostly to advertise an internal row. Columns upon columns were given to the press to try to make believe that the National Woman Suffrage Association is less "militant" than the Congressional Union, a thing that even Miss Lucy Burns, who was Chairman of the National's press committee, says is ridiculous. But little was published regarding the speech of Professor W. I. Thomas, of the University of Chicago, who addressed the suffrage dinner at the La Salle Hotel, that city, on the subject of women's rights to limit offspring, and to become mothers without the formality of marriage. The Chicago *Examiner*, however, a staunch suffrage paper, said the professor's speech "came as a thunderclap in an evening of fine wit."

The professor's theories were graphically set forth—we do not care to quote such sentences. But the surprising thing of it all is the sort of comment evoked by his remarks.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, is reported by the Chicago *Evening Journal*, (suffrage) to have said:

"You have to shock the people to make them think. The address has set every woman who heard it thinking, and they are thinking women who will consider both sides of such a proposition. Political emancipation is not the only emancipation. There is a greater freedom which women must gain, the freedom of social relations. Women are over-sex-developed and men are responsible for that condition. * * * I don't believe in mothers' love, I believe in mother intelligence. * * * I believe Professor Thomas took the proper place to present those views which have been buried in the minds of men for centuries."

It is true that Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, a Boston Suffragist, who often attempts to apologize for feminism, told the professor that she believed women who had children "were entitled to a home and a husband, too," but not one woman in that audience, according to all reports, has criticised the doctrine itself, which is essentially a twin sister to that of free love. Mrs. James W. Morrison, who was toastmistress of the banquet, said:

"I invited Prof. Thomas to come, and I would not have missed his address for a great deal. I do not care to say whether I would have invited him if I had known what his address was

going to be. I extended his time in order that he might apply some of the theories he set forth."

Several Suffragists said that "taste" should have made Professor Thomas present his views at some other time; others that they were too "advanced for this generation," but one of them thought of the Antis, and what such conduct would mean to the present campaign. Mrs. M. J. Reynolds, president of the Political Union of New Jersey, said:

"It was uncalled for and out of place. In a short time, the Anti-Suffragists will be making use of these statements, declaring that free love is the foundation of the ideals of Suffragists. It will be used against us, will do untold harm, and blacken us even to those who are friendly to our cause." Do you notice, however, in any of this a single word against the preachment itself. But this is what the Suffragists did about it:

Next morning, the convention passed a resolution carefully denying the remotest intention to criticise the professor's opinions, but thanking the Chicago *Tribune* "for not exploiting the story." After the "evening of fine wit," during which these "advanced" ideas of "free" motherhood were set forth, the only principle that seemed to actuate these women was fear of the Antis, and a desire to see that the story did not get out. Not one of them has condemned the professor's proposition per se.

With the Suffragists now exploiting Eugene V. Debs as a campaign orator, and selling tickets for his suffrage speeches at their headquarters; with the former secretary of the National Suffrage Association now one of the directors in the "Birth Control League" which is trying to secure legislation authorizing the teaching of race suicide, and this shameful incident of "advanced" feminism in Chicago, the serpent of suffrage is stupid, indeed, if it believes it can longer conceal its feminist fangs.

When the Antis make it too hot for them, a clique will get together, formally indorse marriage and motherhood, and deny that they were ever at the Hotel La Salle, perhaps; or some obscure Suffragist in Grasshopper, P. Q., will write to the papers to say that she is sure that Dr. Shaw and the rest of them didn't say anything of the kind, because she heard a Suffragist speaker once, and she didn't say such things.

This is the real menace of Woman Suffrage—its diabolical alliance with Socialism and Feminism, which it attempts to conceal whenever it thinks it can fool the people—but flashes openly "with fine wit" whenever it thinks it safe and "if it will not get into the papers."

On the day these Suffragists were encouraging Professor Thomas' rabid feminism, Chicago papers were carrying columns describing how 30,000 infants and hundreds of women are annually sacrificed in that city because so many women are unwilling to become mothers. Also, while Suffragists were in convention, an election was held at which only 8,000 women out of 725,000 over twenty-one voted, though a hospital bond issue, "a humanitarian measure" was favorably decided in spite of the women's votes by the ballots of 160,000 men.

Nevertheless, with suffrage, each ward has its little clique of Suffragists, who meet almost daily to discuss feminism—and to get their names into the papers. And with men like Professor Thomas telling suffrage conventions of the "larger freedom," women are learning, as Dr. Shaw says, that "political emancipation is not the only emancipation," and the Feminists seem to be fighting, really for moral emancipation from the principles of CHRISTIANITY AND MONOGAMY.

THE SUFFRAGIST PEACE PARTY FIASCO

THERE was a conference at the Hague several years ago, a conference of men from the world's great powers appointed by their respective governments.

Much valuable work was accomplished in the way of ameliorating the condition of non-combatants in war time, in agreeing upon more civilized rules of warfare and in preparing constructive plans for permanent peace.

Recently a self-appointed body of women styling themselves "The International Congress of Women" met at the Hague. Its proceedings were interesting. It "demanded" that the peace which it is assumed will follow the present war be based upon the principles of justice laid down by this congress of women, including the condition that "women be granted equal political rights with men."

This quotation is taken from the "Resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Women," reprinted by the "Woman's Peace Party of New York City."

We have previously called attention to the woman suffrage plank in the peace party platform. Some of the peace party's leaders (Suffragists) sought to deny that suffrage was a part of the party's policy, some tried to eliminate the official mention of it and many thought it unwise to mention woman suffrage.

Clause 9 of the "Principles of Permanent Peace" is headed, "The Enfranchisement of Women" and reads:

"Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement."

Thus the Peace Party is exposed as suffrage propaganda.

On the subject of "International Co-operation," under the heading "Women in National and International Politics," the resolutions declare:

"This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally, to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men."

"Responsibilities," which we have emphasized, doubtless means the responsibility of bearing arms and all that goes with service to the State.

Going on, we find under the heading "Women and the Peace Settlement" (Clauses 17 and 18):

"This International Congress of Women urges that in the interests of lasting peace and civilization, the conference which shall frame the peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women."

"This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included."

These clauses throw a very illuminating side-light on the suffrage mind and its belief in its own capacities to solve world problems without training or experience.

These paragraphs, however, are but the faint introduction to the final edict which we find in the form of a resolution under the definite heading "Action to be Taken." It will bear being printed in italics, this Clause 19, because of its colossal impudence. It reminds one of nothing so much as a certain type of undisciplined child who finds it extremely trying to live with parents, who blunder along in their inexperienced way, and seeks to direct his elders in the way they should go.

"This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of peace settlement after the war, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PRESENTING PRACTICAL PROPOSALS TO THAT CONFERENCE."

Jane Addams, who figured as a prominent American delegate of the Woman's Peace Party, is recognized as a leading exponent of the "peace-at-any-price" idea.

In an editorial on the League of Peace, the *New York Times* comments as follows:

"The peace-at-any-price idea and the unpreparedness idea would be fatal to the progress of the League of Peace movement, because the hard-headed American people understand very well that the nature of man has not as yet been substantially changed either by repugnance to the horrors of war or by growing assent in principle to the doctrines of the pacifists; they feel that some things are worth fighting for, right, truth, tranquility, and that in a world so large a part of which is covetous and designing they can be secure in the possession of these blessings only so long as they are prepared to defend them.

"Such movements prosper better under the guidance of practical men than under that of idealists. Peace, kept, observed, and guaranteed by all the nations, is a grand ideal, but it is about the most practical of all desirable things. It is practical because it is most intimately related to the happiness, comfort and freedom of men in their common, daily affairs. Peace is the greatest friend of business, war its most dreaded enemy. When we talk of the blessings of peace we are not in the clouds, we are on earth. All men of right understanding, therefore, will give cordial assent to the purposes of the league as they were set forth by Mr. Taft in Philadelphia."

While the notes on the *Lusitania* were under consideration a meeting of the Security League was held in New York to advocate effective measures of enabling the United States to back up its humanitarian demands. At this meeting many of the most prominent American men spoke. On the following night a meeting of the Woman's Peace Party was held to protest against this nation being put in a position of preparedness for all eventualities. That the position taken by the Woman's Peace Party was not a popular one is indicated by the attendance, which was less than 500.

The nature of the speeches is best shown by the following brief editorial from the *New York Times* of June 16th:

"Frederic C. Howe was surprised when the audience at the anti-preparation meeting of the Woman's Peace Party warmly applauded his argument that the people should vote whether or not to declare war and that those who voted in the affirmative should be sent to the front. 'I thought,' he said, taken back, 'you would consider that the silliest thing I would say.' It was a justifiable expectation. Mr. Howe could hardly have expected any audience of adults to applaud an argument which assumed that the country was full of bloodthirsty jingoes when anybody able to read can find for himself that nobody is advocating war. For a grown man to get up before grown women and talk as if a large number of Americans, or any Americans, were clamoring for war is a study in human folly which might be expected to provoke a smile, but not a hand-clap.

"But Mr. Howe's quite reasonable surprise must have dissipated as he listened to the other speakers and their reception. It must have dawned on him that by some accident there had been brought together under one roof an audience capable of swallowing anything and incapable of seeing anything foolish in the most preposterous arguments or anything pathetic in the most darkened mind. He heard them applaud Mrs. Gilman's argument that we need not prepare for war because this country is larger than Belgium and an enemy could not carry fire and sword across its whole extent; for an enemy would molest only the coast cities.

He heard them applaud her argument that unarmed human beings are amply fitted to cope with machine guns, provided they are all 'strong physically, mentally and morally.' He heard them applaud Meyer London's summary of the headlines in the New York newspapers as 'urging that national honor demands that we fight,' though presumably all of them had seen the headlines themselves. He heard them applaud Mrs. Benedict's reasoning that what is going on in Europe shows the wrongness of being prepared to resist aggression, reasoning that, of course, did not get the tribute of laughter it would have won from a Belgian or an English audience. And then Mr. Howe must have seen that he could safely have been much sillier even than he was."

A woman in the audience wrote to the Anti-Suffrage Headquarters after this meeting, saying:

"It is an excellent proof of women's inability to deal with the great questions of the Nation. What aggregation of men would dare to call a meeting and give to the hearers so many words and so few thoughts?

"My uncle, a very prominent lawyer in a neighboring State, has been visiting at my home recently. We had been discussing the suffrage question at some length and I thought he might be interested to read what these women were trying to do, so I took a transcript of the speeches home for him to read. After he had read it carefully he asked me to tell him what they were trying to get at, and my reply was that was just what I wanted him to tell me."

"ONE DOES NOT BUILD DIKES AT HIGH TIDE"

(From *Le Temps*, Paris, June 8, 1915).

"ONE recalls that the National Committee of French Women refused to be represented at the congress of women called at the Hague to discuss peace. In a very dignified letter, the groups of French women expressed their point of view, inspired by the noblest patriotic sentiment. Mme. Arietta Jacobs, President of the Congress, refused to have the letter read, adding that even if the letter had come in time she would not have communicated it because the Feminist Congress is "not a tribune offered to women thirsty for blood and infected with the virus of war!"

Mme. Buyma Haymans, President of the Hague Feminists, having written on this subject to Mme. Julie Siegfried and Mme. G. Avril de Sainte Croix (who represent the French Feminists) has received a letter from them from which we extract the following passage: "We have relied, dear Madam, on your fairness to give to our refusal its real significance. Your letter proves to us that we were deceived. You have no more been able to understand the sentiment which dictated it than you have understood the words which we used, since you desire to give so limited a meaning to the word 'generosity.'"

"We regret your attitude above all because of the ties of affection which attach us to many women of the Netherlands. But we know that many of your countrywomen have understood and approved us. Like us, they have thought that if your appeal could be addressed to neutrals with success, there was no chance that the women of any authority in the belligerent countries would respond.

"This is what has happened.

"Like ourselves they have not judged this a favorable time

for bringing about a rapprochement (agreement) between the women of different countries.

"Is it not dangerous even for the future of the pacifist idea to open at this hour—when sorrow is breaking so many hearts, exasperating so many feelings—irritating discussions which will provoke irreparable words? It is not at the moment of high tide that one builds one's dikes. It would be only necessary as an excuse for our action to refer to the injurious words pronounced against us by Mme. Arietta Jacobs. They would be enough in themselves. The future will judge between your attitude and ours.

"JULIE SIEGFRIED,

"G. AVRIL DE SAINTE CROIX."

The italics are ours. No further nor more salient proof, that the unnatural sex-unity desired by Feminists goes to pieces at the first strain, is at all necessary. The peace conference of women at the Hague broke up in a row, in which each group supported the national standpoint and rallied to the side of her men. We have never believed that Votes for Women would bring the era of universal peace, and we think their peace congress an utter and futile absurdity, seeing that the second conference of the Hague is already seven years old, and the first took place in 1899. Straight from this miserable failure of the Woman's Congress, which did not even succeed in maintaining peace among its own members, Miss Jane Addams went to London to preach "peace" to the much tried women of England—women whose sons and husbands were suffering untold horrors at the front. We condemn the presumption of this act and blush for it. Our sympathy for real sorrow would preclude our intruding our advice at such a moment.—J. T. W.

AN INDISSOCIABLE ALLIANCE: Socialism, Suffragism, Feminism

By GEORGE R. CONROY

NOTE: This article, in *The Boston Record* of June 23, is in reply to one by Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. Both are part of a controversy arising out of an anti-suffrage meeting in Faneuil Hall May 1, at which the woman suffrage movement was linked with socialism.

IN her reply to my article on "Morals and Woman Suffrage," Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale says:

"Because most Socialists and all Feminists believe in woman suffrage, they (the Anti-Suffragists) are trying to prove an 'alliance' between these groups and the Suffragists as a body."

This is far from being the whole story. In her pretended statement of our case Mrs. Hale omits its vital elements.

Let me resubmit in briefest outlines the facts upon which we base our charge of an alliance between the groups in question:

All Socialists and all Feminists are ardent workers in the cause of votes for women.

2. Socialists and Feminists are the only logical Suffragists, since the inevitable result of woman suffrage, logically carried out, would be to set up the individual instead of the family as the unit of society.

3. Radical Socialists and Feminists are engaged as officers in suffrage organizations and as speakers on suffrage platforms.

4. The National Woman Suffrage Association has placed the seal of its approval upon radical Socialist and Feminist doctrines by printing and circulating radical Socialist and Feminist literature in the campaign for votes for women.

5. No suffrage organization has ever gone on record as repudiating the immoral teachings of Socialist-Suffragists and Feminist-Suffragists, and no Suffragist leader has ever publicly opposed them.

Five counts in the indictment. Mrs. Hale mentions one, and that the least significant.

It is natural that Socialists and Feminists should work for woman suffrage, since they regard it as essential to the "social revolution" which they so ardently desire. Mrs. Hale makes this clear in her Feminist book, "What Women Want." She says woman suffrage is an essential branch of the tree of feminism.

But the fact that is emphasized by Anti-Suffragists is not the indorsement of woman suffrage by Socialists and Feminists, but the fact that the suffrage organizations indorse socialism and feminism by appealing for votes for women with Socialist and Feminist arguments.

Do Suffragists wish to purge the "cause" of woman suffrage of the stain of an alliance with socialism and feminism? Here are the necessary steps:

1. The discharge of all Socialist and Feminist speakers, writers and officers now employed by suffrage organizations.

2. The destruction of all Socialist and Feminist literature printed and circulated by National and State suffrage associations.

3. A public repudiation by vote of the suffrage organizations of Socialist and Feminist doctrines now used as arguments for votes for women.

This would mean, of course, the retirement of Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, avowed Socialist, from all connection with the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association; and it would mean the public repudiation by suffrage organizations of the radical teachings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Dora Marsden, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Max Eastman, editor of the notorious *Masses* and ex-secretary of the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage; Mary Ware Dennett, Jessie Ashley, Norman Hapgood, Winifred Harper Cooley, Crystal Eastman Benedict, Inez Milholland-Boissevain and scores of other radical

Socialists and Feminists now in the front rank of the woman suffrage movement.

Heroic treatment, undoubtedly; but absolutely necessary if the stain of socialism and feminism is to be removed from the woman suffrage movement.

"A similar system of logic," says Mrs. Hale, following up her misstatement of the anti-suffrage case, "would enable me to show that because almost all liquor dealers and all Anarchists are Anti-Suffragists, there is an 'alliance' between these three bodies. But I gladly leave such methods of argument to our opponents."

Mrs. Hale wasn't so magnanimous a few days later, for at a meeting in Worcester, in response to Mr. Charles Sumner Bird's suggestion that the Suffragists engage in joint debate with the Antis, she is reported by the newspapers to have said that such debates were almost impossible, because "the real opponents of the Suffragists are machine politicians, the liquor men and those worthy and respectable manufacturers that employ many women."

The statement that Anarchists are Anti-Suffragists is, of course, childishly preposterous. If there is any anarchy in this fight, it is on the suffrage side, where militancy, essentially anarchistic, is encouraged by the Congressional Union, a large national suffrage organization. As for the liquor men, the charge that they are almost all Anti-Suffragists is inconsistent with the experience in suffrage States and with the fact that States have gone "dry" while rejecting woman suffrage.

But that is neither here nor there. The point to be remembered is that even were the statements regarding liquor dealers and Anarchists true, there would still be no analogy between the case of the Suffragists and that of the Antis. To show ground for her comparison, this is what Mrs. Hale would have to find:

1. A liquor dealer or an Anarchist in Mrs. Codman's place as president of the Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, to correspond with the Socialist president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.

2. Liquor dealers and Anarchists employed by national and local anti-suffrage associations to speak and write against votes for women, just as Socialists and Feminists are employed by suffrage organizations to speak and write in favor of votes for women.

3. Literature favoring the saloon and anarchy printed and circulated by anti-suffrage associations in the effort to defeat woman suffrage, just as Socialist and Feminist literature is printed and circulated by suffrage associations in the effort to secure woman suffrage.

So much for Mrs. Hale's alleged analogy. Now let us see how the shoe looks on the other foot. Suppose:

1. Every Socialist and Feminist were an Anti-Suffragist.

2. The President of the Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts were a Socialist.

3. The anti-suffrage associations were circulating radical Socialist and Feminist literature, and had an army of Socialist and Feminist speakers on the stump, in the effort to defeat woman suffrage.

4. Anti-suffrage were part of the Socialist and Feminist creeds.

If those were the facts regarding the Anti-Suffragists, as they are regarding the Suffragists, would not the public be justified in the assumption that there was an unholy triple alliance against the suffrage cause?

And on the same ground, are they not now justified in the contention that there is an unholy triple alliance between Socialists, Feminists and Suffragists to force the ballot upon an unwilling majority of women?

Mrs. Hale says her book, "What Women Want," sets up no system of morality whatever. But all through her book she deals with moral questions, and I contend that it is impossible to discuss morals rationally without either setting up a standard or leaving the whole question of right and wrong to the individual conscience.

If Mrs. Hale, as the spokeswoman of feminism, sets up no standard of morals for feminism, on what ground does she ask us to accept her statement that Feminists "hold George Eliot moral, and the woman who sells love, in or out of marriage, deeply immoral?"

She admits that her theory of easy divorce is contrary to the "strictest Christian code" or morals, but thinks there is no other "moral theory indorsed" in her book which could be so characterized.

I defy any Christian man or woman to read her chapter on

"Love" and agree with her. She accuses me of having omitted certain sentences in my quotations. I did, because I doubted the propriety of spreading them broadcast through the columns of a respectable daily newspaper. Here is a paragraph (pp. 270-271) in which I hold Mrs. Hale indorses a theory that is contrary to the law of man and the law of God:

"It is often complained that the discovery of scientific means for the prevention of conception is a direct encouragement to immorality in women. Most Feminists do not agree with this view. They believe there is no true morality where there is no free choice. Hitherto conventional morality has been imposed upon women by the public acknowledgment nature forced them to make of their act. To-day, in the educated class at least, women almost equally with men can, if they choose, escape the consequences of their conduct. The result is that in future we shall have from women not an enforced but a spontaneous morality, which cannot fail to be of spiritual benefit to the race."

The moral and social iconoclasm of Mrs. Hale's book is buried in most cases beneath a glamour of words, but it is all the more dangerous for that. Un-Christian theories by any other name are still un-Christian.

HOW SUFFRAGE WOULD WEAKEN THE STATE

(A Letter from HENRY L. STIMSON, formerly Secretary of War)

MY Dear Miss Chittenden:

I have received your letter asking for my views on the subject of woman suffrage.

I have approached that subject from the standpoint of its effect upon the Government, and, through the Government, upon the people of the State. It seems to me that that is the way in which it should be approached. Suffrage is not in any sense a natural right, such as we call the right to life or liberty or the pursuit of happiness. No class of the community can insist upon the right to vote as it could upon the right to live, regardless of the effect of such voting upon the rest of the community; and for this reason citizens who could not read or who did not possess a certain modicum of real or personal property have been and still are, in many communities, excluded from the franchise. On the contrary, the question whether any given class of people will be permitted to vote should be decided solely by the effect which their voting will have upon the general welfare of the community—including themselves; otherwise, by unwisely conferring a privilege, we might destroy real rights.

I am opposed to woman suffrage because I believe it would throw an additional strain upon the efficiency of popular government which would tend to make it less competent to grapple with the increasing problems of to-day. Popular government involves a constant balance between efficiency of government on the one side and the difficulties in the way of prompt and effective action involved in popular participation therein on the other. If undue emphasis on one side of this balance is permitted at the expense of the other side, our whole structure may topple about our ears. Suffrage in New York State was extended to all classes of men because it was believed that the general contentment to be derived from having all classes of the community share directly in the Government would outweigh the certain impairment in efficiency of government which would come from the participation therein of an increased mass of electors untrained to concerted and effective action.

If it were conceivable that the general interests of men and women as classes should diverge in the same way as the interests of different classes of men do diverge, the same argument which was used to support manhood suffrage could be likewise fairly used to support woman suffrage.

It seems to me perfectly clear, however, that there is no such divergence in the interests of men and women. Under the

law of New York State to-day woman's status, instead of suffering any disadvantage as against that of man, is really a more privileged one than that of man. Legal history shows that such disabilities as she was under in former times have been successively removed, at least as rapidly as corresponding disabilities were removed in the case of various classes of men. Current experience also abundantly proves that without recourse to the suffrage the peculiar capacities of woman—her keener sympathy and special knowledge of various matters—can be brought to the assistance of government with sufficient influence to produce the needed reforms.

Furthermore, to assume that her interests as a class do, or in the future will, diverge from those of man is to challenge the fundamental assumption upon which modern civilization rests—the unity of interest of the family.

On the other hand, the passage of the woman suffrage amendment in New York this fall would mean the immediate participation in the government of this State of some two million voters, the vast majority of whom are not only utterly without political experience or training, but have not even had the slightest experience in those matters of business which naturally lead up to and train for public affairs. Almost every man, even before he becomes of age, has had some experience in taking care of himself and others. "To be the man of the family" means learning the hard lessons of self-support and protection of others which are the foundation of government. With such hard lessons the majority of women are entirely unacquainted, and the participation in our government of a mass of voters without such experience could not but be fraught with serious peril to the poise, the common sense, and the efficiency of that government.

Take, for example, that basic fundamental duty of every nation living in a world still ruled in the last event by force—the duty of preparation for self-defense. Even under manhood suffrage our very national existence has more than once been imperiled by negligence and inattention to this duty, and in every period of peace the slender precautions which we have taken are attacked by well-meaning sentimentalists who decry the expense of such measures of national insurance. Participation in the decision of such questions by woman, who is not only wholly ignorant of the methods of force, but whose very nature shrinks from the thought of it, cannot but be a source of peril to the Government which permits it.

It may be said that I give no heed to the presence in the State of thousands of self-supporting women who have learned these hard lessons of experience and many of whom are more competent than many men to handle such questions. I am not in the least oblivious of them nor inappreciative of the influence for good that they are already wielding in public affairs. But it is not a question of admitting these women alone to the suffrage—nor of excluding therefrom the less competent members of the other sex. The only question before the State is the admission of all women of adult age, and even if we should assume that self-supporting women would be materially protected by the possession of the suffrage themselves (an assumption which I believe to be quite unwarranted by the facts) the impairment to the efficiency of government which would be likely to result from general woman suffrage would even in their case more than offset this benefit, which they might otherwise receive.

Finally, I believe that the introduction of the suffrage in New York State would entail peculiar dangers and evils. Hitherto the experiment has been tried mainly in the sparsely populated communities of the West, where the difference of condition between all the citizens was comparatively slight. It is the pride and glory of the Empire State that she contains within her borders the widest varieties of methods of life and employment among her inhabitants. Together with the largest cities of the nation occur the broad farmlands of the interior and the thinly populated woods and mountains of the North. The great problem of the government of the State is to preserve the due measure of representation therein which belongs to all these different classes and conditions of inhabitants. It is a problem which we have long had with us and one whose difficulty has at times seemed well-nigh insoluble. Political power can be much more easily wielded in compact urban communities where men live close together, where the polling place is only a few steps away, where organization is easy, than in the comparative separation and seclusion of the farm. The tenacious power of political organizations in our densely populated cities has been a long-standing demonstration of this fact. It has been a time-honored problem of the hardest character to get the voters of other portions of the State and other classes of the community to vote in sufficient numbers to obtain their proportionate voice in

affairs of the State at large as against the voice of such compact city organizations.

Now, among all the uncertainties which might follow the introduction of woman suffrage, one thing at least is clear beyond peradventure, namely, that the women of the urban districts would vote more readily and easily than their sisters in the country. If we find it so difficult to get the farmer from his farm to his distant polling place that we must have in the State Constitution a special exemption from personal registration in his favor, how much more difficult would it be in the case of his wife or daughter! The most certain results of woman suffrage in New York State, therefore, would be that it would tend to destroy proportionate representation between city and country interests—between the women who can be the most easily organized and the ones who cannot.

I have been told by that keen observer and thoughtful student of political institutions, Mr. James Bryce, that this was precisely the result which followed the introduction of woman suffrage in the Commonwealth of Australia. Certain classes of the Commonwealth "voted their women" en masse, while the women in other districts and of other classes did not vote at all. As a result, while the suffrage produced substantially no change in the condition of women themselves, it very radically interfered with the due proportionate representation of the various localities and classes of citizens in the Government.

I am, therefore, opposed to woman suffrage and shall vote "No" when the question is submitted next November.

First—Because it is not needed to right any substantial grievance or wrong in woman's present condition.

Second—Because by introducing a large element of voters into the electorate who are entirely devoid of business training and experience it would powerfully tend toward inefficient government at the very time when efficiency is most needed; and

Third—Because in this State it would most certainly tend to throw a disproportionate amount of political influence and power into certain localities and classes of citizens of the State as against other localities and other classes.

HENRY L. STIMSON.

New York, May 24, 1915.

THE SOUTH'S OPINION OF SUFFRAGE

(From *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*)

MISS EMILY K. PERRY, of Washington, who represents, we believe, the Anti-States Rights detachment of the Suffragettes, succeeded yesterday in securing an interview with Representative Montague, of this city. The lady argued for the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of these United States. She reminds us somewhat of an active worker for the cause in a Virginia city, very prolific of fervid communications, who invariably demands the right for her sex to go to the "poles." Some of us who have had to read her productions agree very heartily in the wish that she would go to either of them, or even as near as Doc. Cook got, provided she omitted to provide a return ticket. Miss Perry, with like confusion on the practical facts of politics, seems to have the idea that the States of this Union are governed by some kind of a mass or interchangeable system of voting, for she tells Representative Montague that as the white women outnumber the colored women in the Southern States by a million, woman's suffrage would solve the question of white rule. For the information of Miss Perry, we will say that the States and even the counties vote separately and elect their own governments and that the colored population is not distributed with exact equality, like the sugar in a pudding. In the States of

Mississippi and South Carolina, and we believe Louisiana, the colored women have a very large majority over the white women, as they have in thirty counties of Virginia, and as we are spending millions of dollars and bending our energies to educate the negro in the South, the literacy test as a means of regulating the vote will disappear.

Miss Perry's strongest argument seems to be that if woman is an exact duplicate of man, she has the same right to vote that he has; while if she is not an exact duplication, she has different interests which ought to be represented. This has the surface plausibility and brightness of a William Jennings Bryan argument for free silver in 1896. The answer to it is very obvious. If the woman is the duplicate of the man, she will vote as he does, and therefore there is no need for her to vote; if she is not the duplicate and has different interests, her voting and participation in politics must mean domestic conflict and disruption. We might meet Miss Perry's alternative proposition with another, to the effect that if, here in Virginia, we maintain the poll tax qualification, woman's suffrage would give a vast advantage to the wealthier classes and put at great disadvantage the poorer families in which the men find it a scuffle to pay their own polls. And when we come to look at it, no one of the ladies of either branch of the woman's suffrage movement has pointed out to us where

or how Virginia women are suffering for lack of suffrage or have been denied protection, care or opportunity. Their chief contention seems to be that with suffrage they would secure a woman's auxiliary to the University of Virginia. They assume, with charming political innocence, that the great mass of the wives and daughters of farmers and working men and other small taxpayers would vote to spend a million dollars of State money to establish a female university at which a few hundred favored citizens of that sex might secure "higher education"; but we would advise them strongly not to underwrite the success of such an enterprise, even if the women of the State had the exclusive right to determine.

For the further information of Miss Perry, we will say that the State of Virginia and her women are fairly comfortable, contented, prosperous and hopeful. Really, the men have done quite well and managed our affairs creditably. Comparing conditions, government and standing before the country, we feel that Virginia, a He State under He control all these years, compares very favorably in morals, management, manners and character and system of government and conduct, with Colorado, for instance, one of the oldest woman's suffrage States and about the worst governed and most corrupt State of the Union.

Mr. Montague's reply was meek, as the occasion required, and inconclusive, as the emergency suggested.

Mr. Montague's letter follows:

To the Editor:

Sir.—The report of the call upon me yesterday afternoon by the ladies of the Congressional Union, as appearing in the city papers of this morning, is somewhat imperfect, not intentionally so I am sure.

Controversial conferences between ladies and gentlemen are always to be avoided. The exact facts, if reported by the partisans on either side, are not likely to be free from imperfections. Therefore, I beg to ask that in connection with the report I may publish my letter to the chairman of the ladies' committee of the

Congressional Union, dated June 9, 1915, and which, after explanation as to why I could not meet the committee at that time, is as follows:

"But in order that your committee may understand my position, I will more fully state now what I have heretofore said to you and Miss Vernon. I do not now perceive any reason why I should vote upon this amendment otherwise than I did at the last session of Congress.

"This is not an ordinary amendment to the Constitution. It seeks to change the fundamental system of our government by giving to the national government the right to prescribe the qualification of suffrage in the several States. An amendment to the Constitution affecting suffrage was once adopted, and the South has not yet recovered from the ills then inflicted. The qualification of suffrage is a matter relating wholly to the sovereign rights of the States, and I would not be justified in voting for the amendment which you suggest unless it was supported by a public sentiment so overwhelming in my own district that I should feel compelled to subordinate my personal convictions to the manifest wishes of my own constituency. There is little or no sentiment in this district, as far as I can perceive, for this or a similar amendment; indeed, there is much sentiment among those who favor woman suffrage against such an amendment and a very decided sentiment against it by the great body of people of my own district. Therefore, my convictions, as well as the overwhelming sentiment of the people of my own district, constrain me to decline to vote at this time for any amendment to the national Constitution which will take from the several States the right to prescribe the qualification for suffrage in such States."

I may now add that, in view of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in construing the fifteenth amendment, there is all the more reason why the people of the South should retain to their several States the sole right to prescribe the qualification for suffrage.

A. J. MONTAGUE.

Richmond, June 23, 1915.

AN INACCURACY IN SUFFRAGE STATISTICS

ADVOCATES of woman suffrage are resorting to strange devices to mislead the public as to the effect of the votes of women in the States of the West.

In the issue of the *Woman's Journal* for June 12, 1915, an article signed "A. S. B." gives statistics purporting to show that the tax rate in the male suffrage States is much higher than in States where women vote.

"A. S. B." apparently relied upon the unlikelihood that the average reader would have the statistics at hand, or take the trouble to consult them at the public library, for her figures are simply monuments of inaccuracy.

For example, she gives the tax rate per \$1,000 in Wisconsin as \$11.80; in the District of Columbia, \$15; in New Hampshire, \$16; in Vermont, \$18; Missouri, \$19; Maine, \$23.50; Minnesota, \$27.74; while suffrage Washington is quoted as having a tax rate of only \$8.07; Colorado, \$4.12; Utah, \$4; Wyoming, \$2.85; Kansas, \$1.20; Oregon, \$1.20, and California 39 cents.

The latter is really too absurd, and even

"A. S. B." should not have been deceived by it; for if she had gone a little further on the same page of the almanac from which she says she drew her figures (page 307, *World Almanac*) she would have found that New Jersey and New York have no direct State tax, while Pennsylvania has no State tax on real estate and a State tax on personal property of only 4 mills, as against California's 39 cents!

As a matter of fact, as the *World Almanac* makes quite clear, if "A. S. B." had wanted to notice it, in some States the road tax, school tax and various other taxes are levied and collected by counties and municipalities and are not included in the State enumeration. In other States these taxes are given as a part of the State tax.

There is only one source where the per capita levies of *ad valorem* taxes and average tax rate per \$100 of assessed valuation are compiled for the purpose of comparison, and that is in the abstract of the special bulletins on "Wealth, Debt and Taxation" issued by the United States Census Bureau.

The last bulletin, just issued by this Bureau, gives on page 15 the tax rate per \$100 of assessed valuation in the States mentioned by "A. S. B." In the case of male-suffrage Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Vermont, Missouri, Maine and Minnesota, and non-suffrage District of Columbia, the rate per \$100 is practically the same per \$1,000 as that given by "A. S. B."

But what a difference when it comes to the woman suffrage States selected by her to prove her case!

According to the Census Bulletin, Washington State has a tax rate of \$31 per \$1,000, instead of \$8.07, as given by "A. S. B." Colorado's rate is \$40.10 per \$1,000, instead of \$4.12. In Utah the rate is, not \$4, but \$32.60 per \$1,000; Wyoming \$14.40 per \$1,000, instead of \$2.85, as recorded by "A. S. B." And California, which, according to the writer of the editorial in the *Woman's Journal*, has a tax rate of 39 cents per \$1,000, is shown by government statistics to have an average tax rate per \$1,000 of \$21.50.

HOW SUFFRAGISTS SPLIT THE WOMAN'S FEDERATION

(From the *San Francisco Call*)

LOS ANGELES, June 8.—Protesting against what they termed the "political methods and trickery which come into the State Federation of Women's Clubs," and giving warning of what it believes to be the "dangers and disorganization which will befall it unless it takes warning," the Ebell Club, largest in the United States, has withdrawn its 1,507 members from the organization.

Those present voted almost unanimously to take this momentous step. The Ebell Club is almost mother of the federation. Its first meeting was held in the Ebell's old headquarters, and its first president was Mrs. Robert J. Burdett. * * * Ebell's withdrawal is a protest and warning against bossism and politics prevalent in the State Federation, according to the officers of the Club. Mrs. W. S. Bartlett, the president, said to-day:

"Ebell stands ready, as ever, to give all assistance in its power to any club in or out of the federation. It regrets being compelled to take this step, but the federation method and purposes are absolutely opposed to ours, therefore our best protest is withdrawal."

The causes leading up to this withdrawal are as follows:

At its fourteenth annual convention in San Francisco, May 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21, the California Federation of Women's Clubs attempted to purge itself of politics, but failed, according to all accounts, through

political trickery. The result, as indicated in the foregoing, is a split in the federation which, according to all accounts, imperils the usefulness of the organization.

The fight came over the question of amending the constitution along the lines proposed in *The Clubwoman*, the official organ of the federation. As given in the call for the convention, the amendments provided:

"That no delegate from any club taking active part in politics shall be seated in convention.

"That no person who is a candidate for a political office shall speak from the platform of the convention.

"That no resolution of any political significance shall be considered at the convention.

"That no woman known to be active in politics or holding any county, State or Federal office shall be eligible to membership on State or district board."

The manner in which these amendments were defeated is told by a prominent San Francisco club worker in a letter to Mrs. Arthur J. Dodge, president of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, under date of June 7.

"The temper of the convention made it plain that a majority of the delegates favored the amendments. This in itself is a big change in sentiment, and is very significant. The Progressive Suffragists sent post haste to Los Angeles for a strong reinforcement of Johnson appointees, women office-holders and their friends who packed the convention and voted to have

all the amendments relating to politics considered together. They were read seriatim, and the first two or three were discussed with the feeling of the convention distinctly in their favor.

"Fearing results, the Johnson women moved that all discussion be postponed until all the political amendments had been read. When the Chairman finished reading, Mrs. James W. Orr, past president of the State Federation, took the platform ostensibly to respond to a rising greeting by the delegates. Instead, she immediately began speaking against the amendments, and when she sat down a Johnson follower from Alameda moved that the amendments be tabled, which was done before the astonished country delegates realized what had happened.

"The San Francisco delegates were given the cold shoulder all through the convention. There was a bitter fight over the presidency, so that the federation is torn with dissension and much weakened in power. The majority of the delegates were thoroughly disgusted, and there is a strong talk of getting the literary clubs into a separate group—away from politics of any kind.

"The club women politicians here are as aggressively active as they were during the campaign for suffrage. They are compelled to agitate all of the time to prevent local interest in woman suffrage from dying out altogether. A few radicals do all the work. The old line advocates are silent and conspicuous by their absence in the suffrage conventions and rallies held here."

A WOMAN'S REFERENDUM

(*Worcester Sunday Telegram*, June 27)

ONLY 13 per cent. of the women of Worcester want the vote if an expression of opinion secured from 100 women picked at random by *The Telegram* can be taken as a basis of judgment for the whole city. Of 100 women questioned by a reporter, only 13 admitted that they want to vote.

Twenty-nine agreed that they would like to see women granted the right to vote, but do not want to vote themselves. They want the ballot just as a child wants the moon. It is something that is denied them, therefore they want it.

Forty of the 100 said plainly that they are against anything like suffrage for women, and believe that women have enough to do at home keeping the men straight without going into politics.

Eighteen refused to answer the question,

but some of them didn't refuse to talk. In fact, they talked fluently, and the things they said about reporters who would dare to stop them on the street to ask such questions were entertaining, if not flattering.

The 100 women interviewed by *The Telegram* were as representative of the women of Worcester as could be picked. They represented every class, from Mrs. High-brow Hyphenated-Westside to girls of the factories, and a few who are known to the police.

There was no class and no age which could be said to favor suffrage or to be against it. Giddy girls on their way from work in the factories treated the matter facetiously, as a rule, and it was evident that the question of voting has not bothered them much. They are more interested in acquiring the necessary cash for food and clothing.

IN COLORADO!

IT is announced in the *Denver Post* that after July 12th, Colorado wives must submit to beatings by brutal husbands for a whole year before they may apply for divorce. If, in the meanwhile, they flee for their lives from the residence of the husband, they have "deserted" him, and he, then, has the right to apply for divorce on that ground; which, if granted, automatically relieves him of all liability to pay alimony. It seems that "the last state of Colorado women is worse than the first."

The Attorney-General and others have stated that the law will work great injustice to women; that now all a brutal husband needs to do in order to get rid of his wife without even paying alimony is to abuse her so much that she will leave him, and then sue her for divorce on account of desertion!

METHODS OF CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN

BY MISS ELIZA D. ARMSTRONG

ONE of the differences between a man and a woman is that the woman will always tenderly present a bouquet before she hurls her brickbat. Bearing this in mind, we are rather amused to have one of the Suffragist writers say that "the Antis are to be congratulated upon the vigor with which they are rushing their campaign" just before she shies a sly missile at the Antis for "following their opponents' tactics closely" in the matter of indulging in "militancy." The "militancy" of the Antis, of course, is rather far fetched, and consists of several stock paragraphs, mentioning the jeers of spectators at the suffrage "hikers" three years ago in Washington, and several isolated instances where Suffragists were heckled by by-standers. That these instances were few, and hard to assemble, is shown by the fact that the same stock story has been sent in to us during the last week from Tennessee—where there is no Anti-Association—from Georgia, from Boston and from Pittsburgh.

The Pittsburgh lady adds to the stock story an account of a band that is alleged to have started to play every time one of their "soap-box orators" began to orate. She very neatly suggests that the band might have been hired to do this by the Antis. Why not suspect rival spellbinders? About a year ago, an "advanced Feminist" of Delaware drove her automobile through a crowd listening to a suffrage speaker, and blew her horn until the police stopped her. The reason, probably, was because her feminism made her resent anyone else's horn being "blowed." The band might have had similar motives, for all we

know—we are not responsible. Moreover, when we accuse the Suffragists of anything, we do not attempt to indict the universe in general and hope to send the accusations in their direction. We actually quote their representatives or criticise actual "stunts" of their own members. Show us a militant Anti, and we will condemn him or her at once; but do not present a case of a Suffragette speaking on a street corner and some office boy dousing her with water as one of the things that can be put up to the Antis.

The Anti-Suffragists seem to have the Suffragists pretty well on the defensive since last fall—and those nineteen Anti victories in State legislatures. All the "Suffs" do now is to attempt to answer the Antis. The favorite method is to present alleged Anti arguments in quotation marks, which include phrases that cannot be found anywhere in anti-suffrage literature.

When the Suffragists cannot make up their own versions of what the Antis say, they rave about what the Antis might be supposed to say from the suffrage viewpoint. Not one out of a hundred of them actually quotes an anti-suffrage article in answering anything in it—as we make a practice of doing with regard to their views. Usually they do not bother even to do this; they call names, flatly deny that the Antis are telling the truth, or otherwise attempt to cast reflections upon the personal character or motives of the women who oppose them.

But the Antis are not following suffrage methods. For instance, our women do not speak on the street; we do not "hike"

about the country in all sorts of uniforms, exploiting all kinds of wails to attract notoriety; we do not make statements about Suffragists' beliefs that we cannot prove by actual quotations; we do not accuse them of mercenary personal motives. Yes, we hold them responsible for feminism, not only because every Feminist is a Suffragist, but because Feminists speak on their platforms, and the worst things we have yet found on feminism are found in the official history of woman suffrage, edited by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton; while Dr. Shaw and Charlotte Perkins-Stetson-Gilman are doing quite a lot of it on their own accounts. We do not, however, hold Suffragists responsible for the sentiments of Margaret Sanger or Floyd Dell, nor quote all the available radicalism of Max Eastman as suffrage doctrine, although he has spoken for them often, and was the first to organize their Men's League. Neither will we charge them with being "supported by the liquor interests" because a big brewer happens to be vice-president of one of their Men's Leagues. But if the Suffragists had anything of the kind to use about the Antis, can you imagine the howl with which they would exploit it, re-exploit it, patch-work and crazy-quilt it from Pittsburgh to Pensacola? As it is, they employ about all of their time and talent trying to dig up denials of their own foolish statements, or in accusing the Antis of saying or doing things no Anti was ever known to do, so they might go a little further, and pay us the compliment of imitation in the attempt to keep this campaign womanly and dignified.

A "PROTEST" AGAINST HATE

FEMINISTS in Europe have just begun the organization of a "world movement for international concord." It would seem that women's political inspirations come somewhat late since the Hague conference is an old story. The object of the union is to "protest against hate and its destructive effects and to make war on war." We assume that a large number of militants will join the movement. The prospectus states: "It is not intended to attempt to prematurely end the war. The co-operation of all women would be powerless to accomplish this work of extermination." What they mean to do is to prevent any preparation for war. Then follows the usual fanfaronnade about the unfortunate and enslaved position of woman which gives her no voice in war or peace. The appeal ends with the remarkable and significant statement that "for the

moment the Union believes it is its duty to restrain its propaganda to the neutral countries." If we know anything of this sort of Union, it will probably continue to so limit its propaganda for very obvious reasons. The suggestion that all neutral countries should disarm is, however, not calculated to have a very marked effect so long as the Union evades the essential problem. If the Union can persuade the belligerent nations to disarm it will be conferring an immense favor on mankind. "For the moment," however, *i. e.*, while they are at war, "the Union believes it is its duty to restrain its propaganda to neutral nations." The Union is, therefore, utterly futile and unnecessary.

J. T. W.

VICTORIES!

DURING the last six months woman suffrage has met defeat in twenty States, five by direct vote of the people and fifteen through the representatives in the various State legislatures. The five States and the majorities by which woman suffrage was rejected are: Ohio, 182,905; Nebraska, 10,104; Missouri, 140,206; North Dakota, 9,401, and South Dakota, 11,914. The fourteen States in which the legislatures declined to send the woman suffrage question to the people for final decision are: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Vermont, Texas, Florida, New Hampshire, Indiana, Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, Rhode Island, Georgia and Michigan. In Michigan woman suffrage has been defeated twice by the vote of the people, in 1912 and 1913, and this year the legislature refused to send the question before the people again.

ACTIVE WORK IN THE CAMPAIGN STATES

MASSACHUSETTS

THE Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Convention at Springfield, on the 9th and 10th of June, was one of the most successful and enthusiastic demonstrations of the campaign. It brought together more than four hundred delegates from all parts of the State. The programme included a reception and afternoon tea in the ball-room of the Hotel Kimball, on the afternoon of the 9th, at which Mrs. Codman, President of the Anti-Suffrage Association, presided, Mrs. A. J. George made an address on "Why We are Anti-Suffragists," and Dr. Ernest Bernbaum of Harvard University conducted a question box; a monster mass meeting in the Auditorium in the evening, at which Willard Scott of Brookline presided, and addresses were made by Dr. Bernbaum, Miss Marjorie Dorman, of the Wage Earners' League, New York City, and Hon. John A. Matthews of New Jersey; and a Conference in the Mahogany Room of the Municipal Building on the morning of the 10th, at which papers were read and brief addresses made by a number of delegates upon various aspects of the campaign. At the evening meeting, the delegates had the unexpected pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association, who was warmly applauded when she appeared on the platform.

At the conference on the morning of the 10th, Mrs. George presided, and papers were read and addresses made by Miss Catherine Robinson, of Brookline, on "Some Things Women Have Gotten Without the Ballot;" by Mrs. Matthew Sullivan, of Canton, on "The Average Woman;" by Mrs. B. L. Robinson, of Cambridge, on "Woman Suffrage—A Menace to Social Reform;" by Mrs. Henry Preston White, of Brookline, on "Some Ways in Which Anti-Suffrage Arguments Can Be Brought Home to the People;" by Mrs. A. H. Parker, of Dover, on "The Organization of New Branches;" by Mrs. Frank Foxcroft, of Cambridge, on "Systematic Work to Reach Everybody," which Mrs. Edwin S. Chapin, of Cambridge, supplemented with some personal experiences; by Mrs. John Balch, of Milton, on "Financing the Work of Local Branches;" and by James D. Colt, Esq., of Boston, on "Laws Relating to Elections Which Must Be Observed During the Campaign."

NEW JERSEY

DURING the month of June, large meetings have been held in many cities and towns. Miss Minnie Bronson, Mrs. Frank Goodwin and Mr. John A. Matthews have addressed audiences of 1,000 to 1,500 people. Mrs. Crumpacker, of Omaha, Nebr., is working with the New Jersey women and has spoken at several motion picture houses. A booth has been established in Exhibition Hall at Atlantic City, where literature has been distributed and hundreds of signatures obtained. In Newark, headquarters have been opened in the Kinney Building and enthusiastic crowds attend the noon meetings daily.

NEW YORK

WHAT will undoubtedly be one of the most popular national movements in connection with anti-suffrage organizations is the "Junior League" recently started for both girls and boys of the coming generation.

The "League" started with a large charter membership at a rose Thé Dansant, at the Hotel Gramatan in Westchester County, New York. A score of young girls in white, carrying baskets of the pink anti-suffrage rosebuds, which were sold for admission to the dancing floor, also assisted the receiving Committee in other ways. After listening to the speakers of the day, one of the young women came forward with the proposition of a "Junior League." "We would like to be put to work for anti-suffrage," and so the League was started.

Miss Amabel Jenks is chairman. The membership card bears the following "Creed":

I Believe the Best Type of the Twentieth Century Woman to Be:

In Progression.....not aggression

In Service.....not assertion

In Efficiency.....not egoism

Not in the self-centered individual,

But in the "heart and soul of universe."

"Efficiency Counts."

Both boys and girls can sign this card and have something to think about and to live up to.

The young women especially have it impressed upon them that as aids to the older organization, they can be of constant and incalculable service in a girl's own way. They can distribute literature, buttons, ribbons and obtain signatures to membership, but always in the anti-suffrage womanly manner.

The Juniors will be found to be a won-

derful addition to any and every parent organization. They have their own president, secretary-treasurer and committees as occasion arises, but work with and under the direction of the main organization.

The New York State Association will be glad to send membership cards and further particulars on request, and would be especially pleased to get such request from each and every anti-suffrage organization in the State.

PENNSYLVANIA

DURING the last month the Antis in Pennsylvania have made much progress in arousing the people against suffrage. Miss Minnie Bronson spoke in Harrisburg, Lockhaven, Williamsport, Belefonte and Danville. She was well received everywhere.

Miss Clara Markeson toured the Western part of the State and organized several successful branches.

Miss Laura M. Sloan, General Secretary of the P. A. O. W. S., spoke and established rooms for the distribution of literature in the northeastern section.

A branch has been opened at 33d and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, near the University of Pennsylvania, and many men, who have seen suffrage in action in Utah, Colorado and Washington, have signed pledges to "vote no on woman suffrage November 2d."

Suffragists and newspapers controlled by them have been extremely violent in attacks on the Antis, repeating all the campaign cries and cartoons they have usually resorted to in lieu of argument, but the solid newspapers that represent public opinion have either come out openly against suffrage, or else follow a "neutral" policy that gives each side a fair show. It is noticeable that no thoroughly suffrage newspaper will print "anti" news, in spite of the fact that every canvass made by newspapers has shown the Antis in the majority. Nor will any Suffragist accept the challenge to conduct a newspaper debate, with a pre-publication exchange of papers, though several editors have asked them.

The Pittsburgh Association gave a Thé Dansant, at which 1,200 tickets were sold. It was a great success.

Several newspapers have asked for anti-suffrage articles to translate into various foreign languages, and some of the anti-writers are now getting clippings back of articles they wrote, but cannot read!

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of Trenton, New Jersey, has spoken before several labor organizations and to many clubs in the western part of the State.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Iowa, a male suffrage State, has just passed a law to limit the working day of children under sixteen to eight hours. Iowa stands among the leading States in child labor legislation.

Pennsylvania has passed a child labor law limiting the hours a child under sixteen can work to fifty-one per week. Children under fourteen cannot be employed except in selling papers, for which the minimum age is twelve. Pennsylvania is a male suffrage State.

In North Dakota a mother's pension bill has recently been passed and the age of consent raised from sixteen to eighteen years. Not only is North Dakota a male suffrage State, but woman suffrage was defeated in 1914 by 49,348 against 40,209.

(In the June issue of the *PROTEST* appeared an article under the heading "A Noisy and Selfish Propaganda." This article was unsigned. We are now at liberty to state that it was written by Dr. Chas. Dana, the noted neurologist of New York and Woodstock, N. H.)

(From the *Utica, N. Y., Press*)

Have you seen the suffrage poster? A girl "blowing her own horn." The drawing is good, and the design so appropriate to the 10 per cent. of the female sex it represents that it is to the remaining 90 per cent. (who do not want to vote) a "source of innocent merriment."

The East heard of the defeat of suffrage in the West at first hand recently when Mrs. N. C. Young, president of the North Dakota Anti-Suffrage Association, addressed the members of the Massachusetts Public Interests League in Boston. Mrs. Young and her husband, Judge Young of Fargo, are ardent temperance workers and were among the leaders in the fight which resulted in the prohibition amendment to the constitution, as well as leaders in the successful fight against suffrage.

Secretary of the State Langtry, who is a Suffragist, authorizes the following statement:

"I should say that woman suffrage would add at least 50 per cent. to the cost of elections and primaries in Massachusetts."

The *New York Times*, after a very careful investigation, estimates the cost of getting out the vote in New York State last year at \$2.83 per voter.

If it costs as much in Massachusetts—and there is little reason to doubt it—the

addition of women to the electorate would add nearly a million dollars a year to the election expenses.

In any State, a vote for woman suffrage is a vote to increase the tax on your house and lot.

There are 24,555,754 women over twenty-one in the United States. Of these, 20,518,833 are, or have been, married and are keeping our 17,805,845 homes.

There are 3,088,899 women over twenty-one employed in all gainful occupations outside of the home—who must out-vote 25,122,802 men with whom they compete—if it is true that the ballot is the only way they can get good labor conditions that men refuse.

Over 45 per cent. of the women who work are employed by other women—will women pay higher wages to their help if they vote? Ask the hired girls!

(From *The Chicago-Tribune*, June 8)

A large man with a worried look hurried into the room where the evening session of the Woman's Suffrage Conference was being held, about 9:30 o'clock. He sent up a call for Miss Edith Swift, daughter of the late Mayor George Swift.

"I've traced her to this place," he said, panting.

Miss Swift was found. She is an officer in the Chicago branch of the Congressional Union, which is taking the combined attacks of the national organization's officials, and she appeared to find pleasure in the upheaval which her society had caused. A moment later Miss Swift and the man hurried out.

"She was an election judge out in the Sixth Ward," he explained, "and she forgot to sign the tally sheets."

One delegate to the suffrage conference attended last evening's session at the Hotel La Salle in a dress suit, with a dense black beard covering up part of the white shirt front. He was A. E. Scranton Taylor of Connecticut, the only male delegate. Mr. Taylor secures credentials and attends most large suffrage meetings.

"I don't like to have Mrs. Taylor go alone to these country places," said Mr. Taylor, "and besides I am extremely interested in the suffrage movement."

(From a letter)

Two ladies calling at my home last evening asked me if I was interested in suffrage. I said yes, but on the anti-side. They evinced great surprise that I should be such a fossil, and after I had turned my

batteries on them, they both said, "Well, I must confess, I don't know very much about the question." I replied that most of the women who assailed me on the subject made much the same answer when they were cornered, and I thought it might be a good plan if they would take the time and trouble to think and study about it before they espoused the cause or tried to argue with those who were thinking and reading all they could find on the subject. Isn't it amusing? At least it would be were it not pathetic.

(From the *Challenge of Facts and Other Essays* by Professor William Graham Sumner):

"Daniel Webster once said: 'A strong conviction that something must be done is the parent of many bad measures.'"

"Legislation among us is far too easy for us to endure speculative legislation. Among us the legislative machinery can be set in motion too readily and too frequently; it is too easy for the irresponsible hands of the ignorant to seize the machinery; a notion which happens to catch popular fancy for a moment can be too readily translated into legislation."

"The true rule which every state which is to be sound and enduring must set for itself in deciding to whom political functions may be entrusted, is that political rights and political duties, political burdens and political privileges, political power and political responsibility must go together and, as far as may be, in equal measure. The great danger of all wide democracies comes from the violation of this rule."

The practical alliance between woman suffrage and the extremer forms of socialism is a matter upon which Suffragists do not think it prudent to enlarge; but the Socialists have no scruples about it. Here is the *New York Call*, the Socialist organ, issuing this rallying cry: "The fight for woman suffrage in this State is bound to be a hard one, and on none does the responsibility for success fall more heavily than upon the Socialists. The time for the Socialists to begin this great campaign to which they are pledged is now."

The *American Socialist*, the official organ of the party, says: "The North Dakota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has issued a detailed statement declaring that an analysis of the vote on woman suffrage in this State last November showed that the Socialists voted solidly in favor of it. We admit it."

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

Complete set, 50 cts. Single copies, 5 cts.
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PAMPHLETS

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*
Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*

Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*
Woman and the Law *Francis M. Scott*
First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
Woman Suffrage *Carl Schurz*
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*
Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Miss Emily P. Bissell*

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NEW YORK STATE MEN'S ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO POLITICAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

27 William Street Room 1823 New York City

Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913
Everett P. Wheeler

Questionnaire *Everett P. Wheeler*
Women and The Vote
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*
The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*
Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*
The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*
The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00) *Sir Almroth Wright*
The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*
Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25) *E. S. Martin*
The Unrest of Women (\$1.00)
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The Remonstrance.....Subscription, 25c.
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Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women:

Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*
Argument before U. S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*

Of What Benefit to Woman?
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*
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